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JPRS L/8228

17 January 1979

TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS
(FOUO 1/79)

EAST

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17 January 1979

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

DISSATISFACTION BY HUNGARIAN MINORITY REPORTED

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 31 Oct 78 p 10

[Article by Viktor Meier: "The Magyars in Romania are Dissatisfied; the Hungarian Minority and Ceausescu's National Course"]

[Text] The main catholic church on the elongated town square of Tirgu Mures (Marosvasarhely), the center of the Hungarian area of settlement in Transylvania, is a small but nearly perfect copy of the cathedral in Budapest. As members of this ethnic group tell us, the Hungarians may well live in different countries but they remain one nation and their spiritual center is Budapest. The main conflict with the Romanian state, today, appears to be based on this point. The Romanian authorities follow the obvious intention to cut off their Hungarian minority, culturally as well, from the nucleus of their nation as much as possible. The word "fatherland" is taboo and must not be used.

There is a publisher in Romania, "Criterion", which prints a considerable number of Hungarian books every year, selected, of course. There are Hungarian theaters or Hungarian Sections in Romanian theaters in Klausenburg [Cluj formerly Kolosvar], Tirgu Mures and some other places. Although no longer a Hungarian University, yet there are Hungarian lecture series in Klausenburg. In general, however, a Hungarian from Transylvania can hope to visit Hungary every two years at best. Most of the people we talked with had visited Hungary at the most only two or three times since the end of the war. The Hungarian consulate, which is to be established in Klausenburg according to an agreement between Kadar and Ceausescu, is still not functioning. From an agreement covering the expansion of zones for small border traffic, according to which twelve visits per year would be possible, the large towns of Oradea (Nagyvarad), Arad and Satu Mare (Szatmar-Nometi) are still excluded although they belong to the border zone geographically. The Budapest paper NEPSZABADSAG cannot be found sold by street vendors anywhere in Transylvania and new private subscriptions will be automatically refused because of an "exhaustion of the quota". The local Hungarian papers which appear in the large towns of Transylvania are woeful in their information content. They are not even allowed to use the Hungarian names of the cities.

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The small rural town Sf. Gheorghe (Sepsiszentgyorgy) in the Szeklerland North of Kronstadt [Brasov formerly Brasso] has a Hungarian theater which, as a travelling company, serves the whole districts of Covasna, Harghita and Kronstadt. With its ensemble of over 40 actors, it produces seven to eight plays each year. As a rule, two of these are translations of Romanian plays, four are from the general world literature and only the rest are from the specifically Hungarian theater world. Nevertheless, the new play by Andras Suto, who lives in Tirgu Mures, on Michael Kholhaas, "Palm Sunday of a Horse Dealer" is being played here. Because of its beautiful language, tied to the Hungarian bible translation, it made an impression especially on young people.

It is nice to have a Hungarian theater in the Szeklerland because the feeling for oral expression remains strong and unspoiled here. There is also an exchange with Hungarian theaters across the border such as with Veszprem in Hungary and with Sombor in the Hungarian speaking area of Yugoslavia. It is almost easier done with Sombor.

The New Industries

All over the Szeklerland, we hear complaints about the higher school education in the Hungarian language. The bad conditions are a result of the high school reform, enacted a few years ago in Romania, through which the traditional gymnasium (high school) was largely ended and was replayed by a widely compartmentalized system of specialty high schools (Fachlyceen). In these specialized high schools, there are often not enough students for Hungarian classes and equally often there are not enough Hungarian teachers. The support offered by neighbouring Hungary is rejected. But the Romanian state appears to be relatively most ready for a compromise in the school question since this would be reconcilable with the concept of their own Hungarian people in Transylvania.

The question of industrialization is ambivalent. From his own standpoint, Ceausescu is hardly unfair when he sharply rejects the thesis, as he did last spring, that the conservation of the ethnic character of an area would be more important than economic progress. In the Szeklerland, with its compact Hungarian population in the country as well, there is always sufficient supply of workers from the immediate surroundings of the new industrial centers to maintain their Hungarian majority while this is not the case at other areas, for instance in Klausenburg. It is steadily maintained by the Romanian side that the new industries created working places for the Hungarian speaking elites as well, in their immediate home area. "At times", is the comment on the Hungarian side. It remains to be true that Hungarian physicians or engineers can find work only in Muntenien or in Moldau. In places where the Hungarian population is especially compact, even streets may get Hungarian names occasionally. "After flowers or birds" is the ironic comment to us.

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The dramatist Andras Suto admits to us that certain problems concerning the minority became acute within the recent past. In March, at the last meeting of the peoples' council (Volksrat) of the Hungarian ethnic minority, some of the comments heard were very critical. Suto himself let himself be heard in a sort of memorandum which he submitted in writing because of his absence but wanted to be understood as a normal contribution to the discussion. As a vice president of the Romanian writers' association, Suto represents the writers of Hungarian nationality. In his opinion, Romania shows a certain elasticity time and again. In general, the various groups, regardless of their kind or ethnicity, put forth their demands and interests more openly today than two years ago, in Romania. This is also true for the Hungarians. Insofar as the problems are becoming "more consciously" recognized, one could speak of an improvement in the situation. Certain principles have been acknowledged by the Romanian authorities. However, their realization presents difficulties sometimes as, for instance, in the case of school curricula. There are certain new developments even in contacts with Hungary, for instance, improved contacts between the theaters and the authors. Yet much more remains to be done. It is important that a dialogue be maintained.

Until this summer, the dialogue had been conducted in a very intolerant manner by the Romanian side; matters appear to be quieting down somewhat only during the last few weeks. The reaction to the letter sent by Kiraly, a former [party] functionary, to Ceausescu, and also to the voicing of criticism during the March meeting of the Hungarian people's council were hostile. An article by the widely respected Hungarian author, Gyula Illyes, was countered in such an aggressive manner by the Romanian cultural functionary, Gheorghiu, in the periodical "Luceafarul" that Romanian authors and politicians took a stand against it and warned against overreactions. Yet Romanians were burdened by memories of the last war. Foreign television crews which wanted to report on the Hungarian minority in Romania were prevailed upon to film a mass grave with victims of the "Horthy terror". Some did this although one can not grasp what this has to do with the present situation of the Hungarians in Romania. The Romanian army, to be sure, has also left behind admonishing stains during their occupation in Bessarabia and Transnistria, in 1941.

Because of the nationalistic tendencies of the regime of Ceausescu, Romanian ethnic minority policy has, without doubt, gotten itself into a dead end street, in part. It is a fact that the majority of the Germans want to emigrate. The Hungarians do not want to emigrate but, because they feel nationally suppressed and, in addition, they feel the economic-political gap ever more strongly in comparison with the neighbouring country, they have become a source of active dissatisfaction. In the West, one can still hear the opinion that the Soviet Union could put a thorn in the flesh of Ceausescu's regime by encouraging Hungarian nationalism in Transylvania. Such fears could be fostered ten years ago but they are no longer applicable today. If the Soviet Union wanted to encourage Hungarian nationalism, it would hardly be limited to Transylvania alone.

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Budapest is Cautious

Ceausescu himself has emplaced the thorn with the minorities. Official Hungary obviously behaves cautiously although it must also pay attention to the mood of the population. Party Secretary Kadar is supposed to have warned informally against openly discussing the problem of Hungarians in Transylvania since no one would support Hungary in this question. It would find itself politically isolated. This standpoint appears to be realistic. Yet, Hungary attempts to achieve improvements through discrete diplomacy.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

SON OF JAILED SABATA APPEALS TO MARCHAIS FOR HELP

Paris L'EXPRESS in French 2 Dec 78 pp 133, 134

[Article by Philippe Ganier-Raymond: "To the Aid of Sabata"]

[Text] Jaroslav Sabata, editor of Charter 77, has been in jail since 1 October and in danger of dying. His son Vaclav sends an appeal ...

Jaroslav Sabata was one of the editors of Charter 77. Together with many Czech intellectuals he had demanded strict application of the Helsinki agreements, co-signed by Gustav Husak, the right to information, the right to enter and leave Czechoslovakia...

Sabata was a professor of psychology at the University of Brno. Fifty-one years old, very soft spoken, punctilious, he has for a long time carried with him the sadness of the incorrigible optimist. Sabata was a little to Brno what Dubcek was to Bratislava: an apparatchik who, well before 1968, expressed ideas in Southern Moravia (1.5 million inhabitants) which were to lead to the Spring. This former official of the PCT [Communist Party of Czechoslovakia], former official in charge of youth in the Brno region, spoke openly about self-management, of "dynamic unions," of "accelerated democracy"...

During the 14th Party Congress, in September 1968, he denounced the Moscow treaty which legitimized "normalization." Gradually Sabata was to enter a marginality bordering on life underground. This meant an end to party responsibilities, no more professorship in Brno, no more work, tasks ... In 1971, he was arrested by the "civic police" for distributing tracts and samizdats. Husak's police also jailed his three children. Those three arrests were not unconnected with the two heart attacks Sabata suffered during his 5 years in prison.

He got out in 1976, just in time to participate in the writing of Charter 77. His children were also free. Jaroslav Sabata, Vaclav Havel, the dramatist, and the many Christians who signed the Charter, as well as the engineer Peter Uhl, representing the extreme left of the movement, and the singer Marta

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Kubisova, hundreds of students and workers of all sorts did not wait to feel their solitude. During meetings in Prague apartments stuffed with micro-phones (Husak's plumbers do not even take the trouble of hiding the wires. In Prague you can /see/ [in italics] that they are listening!), they decided to make contact with other dissident groups and, first of all, with the Polish Committee "of Social Self-Defense." A unified movement "for the respect of human rights in Eastern Europe."

In the Mountains of the Giants, in the very northern part of the country, not far from the small town of Pec Pod Snezkov, there is a footpath called the Path of Friendship, a kind of free zone between Poland and Czechoslovakia. For 30 years, Czechs and Poles have met there, in sight of both police forces, without having to show their papers.

The Charter 77 Czechs -- Sabata, Havel, film producer Jiri Nemec, plus a few students -- and the Poles of the "Self-Defense" group (KOR [Workers' Defense Committee]) -- Michnik Kouron -- met twice on the Path of Friendship, in August and in September. First conclusion drawn by the Czechs: "The Poles are farther ahead than we are. They have succeeded in getting all their political prisoners out, for example."

Following these two meetings, both the Czechs and the Poles wrote and circulated a "Letter to the dissidents of Eastern Europe." The next rendezvous was set for 1 October. It would never take place. In the early hours, when Sabata, Nemec and a small group of students arrived at the bottom of the Path of Friendship, two companies of Czech and Polish policemen swept upon them: "Papers!" Following the control, they let everybody go on again. Except for Sabata, one student and a film producer. They were pushed into an orange and white Skoda of the "civic security" which took them full speed to the police station in Pec, 2 km away. They were at once interrogated, separately, in three different rooms. After half an hour, Sabata asked permission to go to the toilet. A policeman went with him. Sabata pulled the chain. The policeman howled: "Swine! He flushed a piece of paper!" Two of them grabbed Jaroslav Sabata and hit him. In the room next door the student heard them hit his head against the wall. He went out and tried to intervene. The two policemen pushed him back violently. Sabata was on the floor. They pulled him up. They pushed him back into the office.

"Take off your clothes."

Sabata started to comply.

"Attention!"

- "How do you want me to take off my shoes while at attention?"

The beatings redoubled. Sabata's lower lip was split open. Sabata ended up defending himself ... The officer who was interrogating him was only waiting for this. He gloated:

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"You are going to see what that will cost you!"

He wrote down: "Struck and wounded officer."

For Sabata this meant the certainty of 3 years on a prison farm. While writing, the officer kept repeating: "You have no right ... We have all the rights." The other two never stopped beating him. At this point Sabata was down on the floor. They hit him on the head with their heels. The same evening he was in prison, but not in the infirmary: in a cell. As he was also suffering from a duodenal ulcer he was put on a "tea diet." His daughter Anna translated his first letter from prison to me. Sabata can no longer hear with his left ear. He is practically certain that they broke his eardrum.

It is obvious that the regime will do anything to make sure that the Sabata trial (in 2 weeks? In 3 months? Nobody knows) will take place quietly. Vaclav, Sabata's son took refuge in Vienna. On 11 October he sent, in the form of a circular letter, a veritable appeal for help to the three leaders of Euro-communism: Enrico Berlinguer, Santiago Carrillo, Georges Marchais.

"I am turning to you," wrote Vaclav Sabata, "so that you can come to the aid of my father, Jaroslav Sabata, spokesman for Charter 77 ... I am turning to you not only in the interest of my father, but also in the interest of numerous Czechs who might at any moment find themselves in the same situation... I am asking you to intervene with the Czech authorities, to protest against the methods of repression..."

As of 18 November 1978, Georges Marchais had not answered yet.

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EAST GERMANY

NAUMANN DECISION PROHIBITING DRAMA ON INTERSHOPS SUPPORTED

West German Commentary

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 6 Nov 78 p 3

[Article by "Ws": "GDR Taboo"; a translation of the East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG article cited below follows this article. For a related Paris LE MONDE article see JPRS 72210, 13 November 1978, No 1607 of this series pp 42-44]

[Text] Through the pen of the actor Reinhard Michalke, the party secretary of the East Berlin Maxim-Gorki-Theater and member of the SED Berlin-Mitte City District Management reader of the (East) BERLINER ZEITUNG have now finally learned why the play "The Whisper Party" was eliminated from the program of the Maxim Gorki Theater. In an article entitled "Serving Our Cause With Party Commitment, Talent, Wit, and Imagination," Michalke wrote this weekend as follows: "To be sure, there is a taboo--the question of the power and the leading role of the party. And this is always concrete. A play may be meant ever so honestly, it may be inserted in the program in a responsible manner, and be prepared by the players in an equally responsible fashion. But should the play--even if it was not meant to--lead to final conclusions that publicly raise questions about the decisions of our party, then one must divorce oneself from it upon such perception, before the play is presented to the public. Recently we made such a decision at our theater."

The play "The Whisper Party" by Rudi Strahl, one of the most successful writers of comedies among the GDR playwrights, was to have had its premiere in Leipzig at the end of September, and was scheduled to be staged in the middle of October as a contribution of the Maxim Gorki Theater to the (East) Berlin Festival. At that time the BERLINER ZEITUNG had this to say as preliminary information: "In this play, young people do not withstand the temptation to gain apparent prosperity with evil means." The text of the play, which was supposed to be published shortly after the premiere, has up to now not been published. In the meantime it has been learned that the play depicts how young people go about to gather West marks in order to make purchases in the "Intershop." Thus the

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SED considers the depiction of the "Intershop" problem on the stage to be a public questioning of its decisions. In Leipzig and in the Maxim Gorki Theater the rehearsals for the play have been suspended, "for internal reasons," as the BERLINER ZEITUNG laconically reported. A little later Konrad Naumann, member of the SED Politbureau and the powerful chief of the East Berlin District party leadership stated that the realities of daily life should not be brought to the stage in a nonreflective manner but rather "something has to be created by the individual talent with its artistic-political education, its clear class consciousness that is expressed in the esthetic transfiguration."

This became the point of departure for the party secretary of the Maxim Gorki Theater. Michalke wrote: "I am in complete agreement with the recent statement of Comrade Konrad Naumann...made recently to the Berlin party activists regarding the question of the simple transposition of facts of so-called daily reality to the stage..."

This cultural political line of Konrad Naumann is, to be sure, different from the maxim proclaimed by the secretary general of the SED, Erich Honecker upon his assumption of the office of the SED chief: "Considering the firm position of socialism, there can, in my opinion, not exist any taboos in the field of art and literature." It is hardly coincidental that Michalke in his essay--which is apparently in harmony with the views of Konrad Naumann--speaks of a "taboo" in being. However, it is not Konrad Naumann--at least not yet--who is the responsible party secretary for culture and science, but the member of the Politbureau, Kurt Hager. Hager has to date not made any public comments regarding the "Whisper Party" affair.

The question arises whether Honecker's cultural political maxim will remain in force. Hager has based his cultural policy on it. Or will the new party line in cultural and scientific fields be determined by Naumann and Michalke.

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SED Official Justifies Ban

East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 3 Nov 78 p 6

[Article by Reinhard Michalke, actor; member, SED Berlin-Mitte City District Management; party secretary, Maxim Gorki Theater: "Serving Our Cause With Party Commitment, Talent, Wit, and Imagination"]

[Text] Party elections are for communists again and again causes for critical self-examination. Thus, again and again it will be measured and weighed whether and how the self-imposed goals derived from party strategy have been reached, and new goals are set.

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Surely, this year also one can draw the conclusion from the work of the party collectives of the Berlin theaters that they have been weighed and not found wanting. After all, 55 new productions have been staged since 1977. This means 55 times months of work, i.e., a search in the rich store of world literature, in the classical and proletarian-revolutionary heritage of the progressive drama of all countries, in the rich treasure of Soviet drama; this means constant work with the veterans and the newcomers of the modern drama of our republic; this means to try and try again, to search for the best theatrical solution right up to opening night. And in all of these areas, the comrades artists are involved, making demands upon themselves and at the same time urging the colleague next to them onward, so that he too will all the more consciously contribute his talent, his imagination, his wit, knowledge and ability toward the fulfillment of the main task, that is, the accomplishment of the decisions of the Ninth Congress of the SED.

The cultural policy of our party has proven to be a fertile ground for this task. The trust of the theater personnel in their state and their party has grown quite apparently. It can also be proven that our public needs us more and more. In the same fashion our work has become demanded and recognized on the international scene. Since 1972 the theater collectives of the capital of the GDR gave 134 guest appearances; 10,113 artists showed in 39 socialist and nonsocialist countries the achievements of the creative work done under the conditions of our country's socialist cultural policies.

Responsibility to Socialism

Many productions were proof of a high artistic and mental-political level of expression. Some were not, or to a lesser degree. That is normal and-- trading trust for trust--nobody blames us for it. Some things that glittered proved on closer inspection not to be gold after all. The party collectives of the various theaters will have to discuss this in detail.

In my opinion there was some work that did not achieve the established level of socialist theater. Was this willful or did it happen to us by accident? Be that as it may, the comrades in the theaters must first of all blame themselves. True, it is very difficult to detect something of this nature when it is staged in the guise of the parable, the fairy tale, or the allegory, when possibly even the classics are brought into use. In this regard it is evident that our life cannot be drawn upon as a control measure or a yardstick.

I am in complete agreement with statement regarding the simple transfer of the facts of so-called daily reality to the stage that was recently made to the Berlin party activists by Comrade Konrad Naumann, member of the Politbureau of the Central Committee of the SED and first secretary of the Berlin District Directorate. The problem does not concern esthetics, it does not concern style, it does not concern simply the

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question of verisimilitude on the stage, as seen by one person or another. The problem is also a profoundly political one. It concerns the question of artistic responsibility within socialism as a responsibility to socialism.

The Question of Authority Is Always Concrete

"Art is nature seen by a temperament." I believe it was Balzac who said that. I would like to add to this statement: Art is nature seen by a temperament with class consciousness and party spirit. For, to be sure, there is a taboo--the question of the power and the leading role of the party. And this is always concrete. A play may be meant ever so honestly, it may be inserted in the program in a responsible manner, and be prepared by the players in an equally responsible fashion. But should the play--even if it was not meant to--lead to final conclusions that publicly raise questions about the decisions of our party, then one must divorce oneself from it upon such perception, before the play is presented to the public. Recently we made such a decision at our theater. This points to the political responsibility of the comrades in the theaters for the artistic production. This is a responsibility that should always be understood to be a responsibility toward our partner in the evening's audience--the citizen of the GDR.

Now as before, our theaters are expected to present exciting and provocative problems and questions from our revolutionary daily life. We cannot do this without concrete stories from concrete areas, without concrete persons with their concrete relationships, with their hopes, their dreams, their successes and also their failures. We shall meet this responsibility when we perceive our entire activity always as a part of the political reality in a concrete social environment, when we derive our decisions from the facts and not from wishful thoughts.

Even the party cannot give us talent and knowledge. But fundamental theoretical knowledge, fundamental factual realizations, firm class consciousness, knowledge about the complexities of international political developments, knowledge about the conditions and requirements of the socialist revolution in the GDR--these we must acquire ourselves, but they also have to be communicated by the party even more fundamentally and comprehensively. For it is clear that the mass media are not sufficient. We need this knowledge not only to avoid mistakes, but first of all to enable us to solve our tasks in the spirit of the ideology of the worker-peasant state in a more appropriate manner.

Added Combativeness Is Needed

Again, the party organizations of the theaters need added combativeness, that is, added ideological and organizational unity and determination, added loyalty to the masses, added activity, knowledge of the personal responsibility of every single comrade for the effecting of party decisions, added unanimity of artistic subjectivity, and unconditional party

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loyalty. We should take the statutes in hand not only when we have to determine the extent of a party disciplinary action, but to place us again and again on the scales to see how much weight we can add to our side in the class conflict. And one can never gain enough weight in this question.

This is how I understand the content and aim of our party elections according to the Central Committee's election directives regarding the concrete conditions of the Berlin theaters. This is also the way the comrades within the artistic establishments of the capital prepare for the party elections. At this time work is going on on the reports of the party leaderships. In this connection the achievements are analyzed and a party comment on them is worked out. Measures are taken that--with a view to the 30th anniversary of our republic--are suitable to increase the richness of artistic enjoyment and experiences with a deep world view for our socialist contemporaries in the audience.

Those party leaderships that include a multitude of comrades in the substantive preparations for the party elections are acting wisely. We of the Maxim Gorki Theater have invited groups of comrades to discussions in the party leadership, comrades who work as governmental managers, officials in the mass organizations, including labor unions, i.e., party activists. Before the discussion, they received a list with pointed questions regarding the work of the theater and its party organization. Thus they could prepare thoroughly. Thus they did not have to digress during the discussions. Most of them did prepare and the party leadership now has additional materials regarding the political situation in the various fields of the theater.

To be sure, many a comrade during the discussions forgot to evaluate himself, his personal contribution, the realization of his personal responsibility to date and in the future. In this regard there is still something to be learned.

Many Possibilities of Political Discussion

In the party elections, we emphasize the political influence of the labor union organization, the primary ally of the party in political work with the masses, in the development of mass loyalty generally. We stress the responsibility of the labor union in Marxist-Leninist instruction and citizenship training of its members. For example, the competition programs of the various labor union groups of our theater envision the utilization of the many opportunities for political discussion and political influence offered by contemporary socialist drama and the drama of the Soviet Union which occupy a central position in the artistic work.

Conscious Involvement in Theater Work

In the preparation for such productions the political contact to our young artists is thus the most intense. Now as before our concern and attention

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must be directed to their political education, to their conscious involvement in the theater work of our society.

All party collectives, thus also those of the theaters of the capital, have the same tasks--the ideological level of party work must be raised, the political-ideological work must be accomplished with scientific objectivity, communist party loyalty, the revolutionary atmosphere of the times with its optimism, and with combative wit, if we should be able to do the latter. Only in this manner can we fulfill the demands and the expectations of the party and society that are not determined by somebody somewhere but by the objective course and the complicated dialectic of the class struggle in the world. We, the comrades of the Berlin theaters are ready to meet these demands.

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EAST GERMANY

WEST GERMAN ACCOUNT OF GDR MILITARY TRAINING FOR TEENAGERS

Hamburg STERN in German No 51, 14 Dec 78 pp 24-26

[Report by Nick Barkow: "'Obedience Must Become Second Nature'--From the GDR Textbook 'Civil Defense'"]

[Text] The commands sound the same as in military barracks yards, East or West: "Attention!"--"Eyes right!"--"Right face!"--"Forward march!"--"Song!"

Slender, long-haired girls in green fatigues obey commands on the parade ground like recruits--not yet in the army, to be sure, but in the German Democratic Republic's "Society for Sport and Technology," in the GDR abbreviation craze simply referred to as GST.

But what until now many teenagers 14 years and over did voluntarily in GST premilitary training, because they were enticed by other GST offerings (sports, driving cars, riding motorcycles, broadcasting, flying, firing small weapons, and cross-country exercises), has recently become compulsory training on sport fields and school yards: All 15-year old boys and girls of the other German state must now report for defense study instruction. The GDR is the only East bloc country where such instruction is compulsory.

Since this fall, teenagers have been drilled in civil and national defense in four 2-hour lessons and a 14-day course of instruction with 72 contact hours. The compulsory defense-study program, vehemently rejected by the GDR's Protestant Church, is grudgingly accepted by parents who have mostly resigned themselves to it, and by teenagers who grind their teeth about it.

But the comparison with the "pre-military training" of the Hitler Youth, all too easily made by the West, does not really fit the case. Differently from then, the school that has simply been given a new subject entitled "Civil Defense" to teach, is here responsible for it. The recently finished text books for this 9th grade course are not for sale. They are distributed at the beginning of each lesson, and they are collected again at the end. Teachers also are not allowed to lend out their volume on "Teaching Aids"; it must "always be ready to be shown for inspection."

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Following the party mandate to divert the GDR youth at long last from discos, jeans and pop music and to interest it more in the defense of the socialist state, topics in the text book "Civil Defense," are treated all but moderately under such headings as "group and troop training," "cross-country training," or "necessity of military discipline and order in the military fortification and defense of socialism." There are pictures for correct exercising and marching and, to boot, massive attempts to create fear.

By policies of peaceful coexistence and relaxation, the youth has been disposed to peace; to convert it now to courageous military behavior, the authors of the school book dip deep into the slogan-box of the cold war: "Since imperialism by nature is aggressive, we also have to expect a real danger of war."

By imperialism, the school book leaves no doubt, is meant first and foremost the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany: "It is known that there is nothing the imperialist will shrink from. To save imperialism as a system, the imperialists are even ready to employ means of mass annihilation." One has to consider the fact "that in a modern war the imperialists would attempt to engage in inhuman methods of conducting the war and to put into practice the most cruel plans of annihilation. These plans would first of all be directed against the civilian population too."

But, to be sure, the text book offers consolation against the "insanity of reactionary forces": "With real effort and correct behavior, protection against the prompt effects of a nuclear detonation is possible over at least 80 percent of the total area within the effective range of a nuclear weapon."

Thus, students are taught that atom bomb drops are not all that bad if one follows the instructions of the text book: how to put on home-made protective head and body gear and how to lie down correctly in the light-shadow of an atomic explosion--the feet towards the center of the explosion.

In Chapter 2A, the text book describes in detail the "methods of the imperialists to trigger and start wars." It explains, for example, how on 13 August 1961 the Berlin Wall came about, and the mine fields, the spring-gun installations, the barbed wire fences, the traps and the blocked zones on the border. That sounds then as follows: "End of July, beginning of August, 1961, a tense situation prevailed in the heart of Europe. War threatened, all NATO troops in the west European countries were on alert, the USA air force conducted land and air-bridge maneuvers, and war exercises of the West German marine corps took place in front of the GDR's Baltic Sea Coast."

Not a hint was dropped that what happened was but a Western reaction to the troop concentrations in the East for the military protection of the erection of the wall. And the original tone continues: "For what purpose were the imperialist troops mobilized in those August days of 1961?"

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Obviously for war against the GDR... To thwart these war plans, combat troops of the working class and the soldiers of the GDR secured the state border during the night from the 12 to the 13 of August, 1961. Thereby they were shielded by deep-echeloned troops of the NVA [National People's Army], by the Soviet army, and finally by the entire military might of the Warsaw pact nations. Thus, on the state border between the GDR and the FRG, including West Berlin, a type of setup was created such as is implemented by sovereign states on their borders the world over."

"What matters is military preparedness, defense-mindedness, and defense morale."

In the course, the imperialists are charged not only with dropping atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945, but also with the rebellion of GDR workers against the increase of norms in 1953, and with the 1956 insurrections in Poland and Hungary. Because: "The imperialists and their military can employ various measures to trigger wars ... The imperialists also have no scruples to break international treaties and ride roughshod over international law."

Against this, only "heroism" can help, as the next chapter discloses: "Heroes and heroic deeds are the result of education and training. To commit a heroic deed, will alone is not enough." And: "In case of a possible armed confrontation, it becomes necessary ..., for the entire people en masse to commit heroic deeds."

GDR teenagers--who have been, according to the SED view, rendered effeminate by western influences--learn in subsequent lessons that the prerequisites for such heroic deeds are: discipline and order, because "without discipline and order, things can't go right." Below are some slogans for 9th grade children and for apprentices of the same age:

--"Today more than ever, discipline is the 'mother of victory'."

--"Military discipline includes also unquestioned execution of orders and absolute obedience."

--And when the superior says "Comrade soldier, you must ...", there is only one answer: "Yes, Sir."

--Orders must be carried out unquestioned, "without discussion."

--"Discipline and obedience must become second nature, a daily habit." Because orders of commanding officers must "be obeyed unconditionally."

Since the "predatory and "criminal" imperialists might also make use of chemical and biological warfare, there are practice experiences in the use of "protective masks for the population" which, imported from the USSR, are currently distributed in schools and kindergartens.

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Since "the possibility of a modern war cannot be excluded," the 15-year olds must, of course, also know "how to reach their base of operation speedily and safely under the most different circumstances, by day or by night, even after enemy weapons have had their effect," how to formulate reports, how to behave as outpost observer, how to compute compass march numbers. Because: "By means of cross-country training, such characteristics as courage, boldness, perseverance, ingenuity, discipline, and collectivism are furthered and reinforced."

Thus, they learn to crawl, slide, jump, creep, and at the same time to stay out of the opponents' sight and protect themselves from enemy fire. "Walking bent over can be accomplished at any speed when conditions do not allow walking erect." They learn to construct shelters in the terrain, and they are to engage in sports for the "achievement of their energy potential."

So that the youths, in spite of drill, roll-call, marching in step, and "at ease!" be gripped by love of adventure, the instruction, according to the instructor's guide, should also be made "emotional." But, all this is intended only to accomplish the pedagogic main goal: "What matters in particular is to utilize the educational potentials of the teaching material for the further improvement of the military preparedness of the students, the development of their defense-mindedness and their defense morale."

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EAST GERMANY

BRIEFS

SCHOOL MILITARY INSTRUCTION PRESSURE--Insistence upon military instruction in GDR schools is becoming noticeably more adamant. The recent punishment by more than 2 years' imprisonment of a youth from the Goerlitz church district for making protest leaflets was only the beginning. Outweighing the sentencing of a single active believer is the fact that every young person who, entirely of his own accord and without participating in demonstrations, wants to stay away from the unpeaceful training is now threatened by an unfavorable entry in his report card. This "absent without valid excuse" is to be with him through life; it is to be a black mark in his "cadre file." As for the GDR churches which object to military instruction just as they do to FDJ youth consecration, they are once more confronted with the problem of what they should advise the youth. The churches cannot take the responsibility for urging the youth to resist, the consequences of which cannot be foreseen for the future life of the young people, as well as for their parents. Thus in the GDR every one is on his own again. And the Germans in the FRG have a new reason to retain their 3-decade-old feeling of disapproval toward the GDR regime. [Text] [Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 23 Dec 78 p 10/]

SED OVERTURES TO PSOE--In a striking manner the SED has played the Spanish card twice within 8 weeks: in early October it had its top official for foreign relations, Axen, receive medium-ranking visitors of the Spanish Socialist Workers Party (PSOE) with great honors; in late November the SED dispatched visitors of low rank to Spain to the fraternal Communist Party headed by Carrillo. These two developments must not be misunderstood. The PSOE, which keeps sliding into the Latin American-socialist direction, is becoming an ever more desirable partner for the Communists in East Berlin and Moscow, while the SED and the CPSU would not even touch Eurocommunist Carrillo with a 10-foot pole. This is not surprising. What is amazing only is that the PSOE and its leader Gonzales not only do not cause any offense within the Socialist International with their course but are even being encouraged. Willy Brandt, the president, and Felipe Gonzales, the outstanding one among 19 vice presidents, rather seem to be as thick as thieves. Apparently it is easy in Spain to have the wrong friends. [Text] [Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 25 Nov 78 p 12 DW]

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YUGOSLAVIA

COMMENTS ON THE CROATIAN QUESTION

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 25 Nov 78 p 12

[Article by Viktor Meier]

[Text] Zagreb, 24 Nov. "Look, people are always trying to make us Croations out to be enemies of the state," says the friendly old gentleman in Zagreb who has nothing to do with terrorism. Bombing attacks and acts of terrorism would be the last thing he would want. But he took exception to the fact that on the extradition list transmitted to Bonn by the ministry of the interior in Belgrade, "with the exception of a well-known Chetnik or a well-known Albanian," only Croations were to be found. This hurts his national pride. "There are other emigrants, too, who are up to no good."

Another Croatian, also no extremist, said: "Previously, no one amongst us knew this Bilandzic. Now our press is building him up into a great personality. I would never have dreamt that after 1,000 years we Croations would again have a heroic age." Scarcely anyone here in Zagreb would want a reign of terror. "But amongst us there is also a political reign of terror. Many criminal proceedings are unjust. People are arrested without reason and frequently detained for longer periods. Hair-raising things that are against the law take place in pre-trial confinement and in the prisons. As long as this goes on, reactions must be expected." The rejection by the extradition requests from the FRG has left the Croatian people quite indifferent. "That is no affair of ours."

This mood makes comprehensible the nervousness in the Yugoslav police. Obviously, "success" has to be produced in Zagreb because the "Croatian Question," the Achilles heel of Yugoslavia and also of the communists, is back in existence. Largely due to the fault of the regime itself, which, apparently, instead of letting matters rest, forcibly dragged them out again. Nobody ordered the newly-appointed secretary of the Croatian central committee, Milutin Baltic--a Serb, by the way--to speak in an inflammatory manner of the reawakening of "nationalism" and of an "opposition front." He did it, nevertheless. People in Zagreb quickly sat up and took notice with a mixture of spectator interest and malicious pleasure which, since 1971, has always arisen in Zagreb whenever problems become apparent in the "ruling class."

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Other incidents occurred: in the literary journal, OKO, the second-class writers once again lashed at each other under the viewpoint of who had been "nationalist" and when; the student journal STUDENTSKI LIST was prohibited; a secret trial affected five students; and Biharic, who had otherwise acted cleverly before, provoked the Church just at the moment when the election of a Pope from Poland, moreover, strengthened the morale of the faithful. Archbishop Kuharic recently emphasized that the Church would adhere to the fundamental demand for the rehabilitation of Cardinal Stepinac. Above all things the bitterness is because of the school reform conceived by Minister of Education Stipe Suvar, one of the most intelligent heads in the present Croatian leadership. In the endeavor to bring education into practice at all levels, the process has gone so far that today the nationalists are asserting that people want to "truncate" Croatian intellect. Not without good reason, thus is it asserted in these circles, is the classical secondary school retained in Serbia.

In such circumstances, the terrorist affair can acquire still greater significance for internal Yugoslavian developments than for German-Yugoslavian relations. Without doubt, certain legal cases in the Federal Republic have been dealt with slowly, but, for all that, proceedings were instituted and the people are vulnerable. At the same time, however, it was explained to the Yugoslav police that they are not omnipotent on German soil. Its limits have now become evident. That means a loss of face precisely in Croatia but equally so in the eyes of the Yugoslavian guest workers in the Federal Republic. Somewhat less than 400,000 Yugoslavs are at present still working in Germany; with dependents it could be 700,000 persons of whom, according to estimates, a good half are from Croatia. This, too, has political significance. For its part, communist Yugoslavia, in its reactions, has gone to the limit of that which is still consistent with normal relationships between two states. Politically, Belgrade's step means a radicalization and, according to experience, such a step in Yugoslavia always shifts all weight to the side of dogmatism, no doubt because the dogmatic-bureaucratic elements feel encouraged by the worsening of relations with the West. It is scarcely accidental that, almost simultaneously with the "terrorist affair," and rather suddenly, the Yugoslav press also broached the problem of shopping trips to Trieste by Yugoslavians.

From the standpoint of the Yugoslav offices responsible for the release of the terrorists, it appears normal that they immediately invited high officials of the German interior ministry to Belgrade. They probably hope, purely "technically," to come to an agreement with them which is supposed to grant to the Yugoslav police in the Federal Republic certain authority for the purpose of having a better "grip" on the emigrants, still before Tito's retirement, if possible. That would mean making up for the loss of face. In doing so, the Yugoslavs appear, as has been frequent quite recently, to count on the not exactly first-rate ability of certain offices in Bonn to judge Yugoslav realities.

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In view of the fixation of the Yugoslav regime's police on Croatians, and in view of the increased nervousness and tension to be expected there, giving in on this matter could bring the Federal Republic a problem that would be difficult to overcome. With almost half a million Croatians in the country, it can scarcely afford partisanship in internal Yugoslav affairs. The only thing remaining is normal maintenance of the obligations of state. The responsible offices in Belgrade have carried out their unilateral action. They have nothing more to offer and it is not known how strong the dogmatic forces backing the decision really are. In any case, there is no reason to help them further.

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